

301 and knocked out of shape by a blow or if its owner goes through
 883 thorny bushes. A *khehla* who has some self-respect will frequently
 554 polish and repair this valuable ornament, for it is a sign of mature
 482 age. He who has been ordered by the chief to wear it no longer
 446 carries burdens on his head; his crown would be spoilt! He will
 461 be accompanied by a boy who carries his parcels; he himself will
 only carry his stick or his *assagai*. He will at once be known
 as one of the mature men of the tribe. This is not to say that the
 mere fact of wearing the *ngiyana* gives the right of taking part in
 the important affairs of the country; the counsellors alone possess
 this right; but from amongst the "crowned," will be chosen the
 man who is sent to another chief to treat of political questions, for
 instance.

301 When the hair grows (for, though it is curly, it may become
 long), the crown rises with it and becomes more or less unsteady,
 which must be most uncomfortable! The best thing would be
 to cut the ornament off and then replace it. Mr. Mandjia, one
 of our neighbours at Rikatla, was probably too lazy to undertake
 this job, so he put a small red handkerchief between his skull and
 the crown to prevent it from wobbling.

765 At a certain time all the *ngiyana* disappeared from the land of
 643 Nondwane. The chief Mapunga was dead! The loss, kept
 554 secret for a year, had been made public, and the law requires all the
 885 mature men to take off their crowns when the sovereign of the
 country is dead. They take the wax from the frame, and make
 a ball of it; this they fix on a little stick, and place this stick in
 the roof of their hut above the door. The frame is hung up
 quite close by, and they leave these objects there till the new chief
 orders his subjects to re-make their crowns. This shows clearly
 that the crowning custom is in close relation with the national life
 of the tribe. The "*makhehla*" also form special battalions in
 the army.

178 Nowadays, however, this custom is not observed as religiously
 854 as in bygone times. Life is harder, one must go and earn pounds
 sterling in the port of Lourenço Marques, or in the gold mines,
 and one can no longer indulge in a lazy life! It may therefore
 happen that a poor man will refuse to wear the crown, and say to

622 by the chief, and dies, his heirs must pay the compensation
 596 claimed. All these rules clearly illustrate the communism of
 672 family life and family property, under the supervision of the
 headman.

Should a numzane be absolutely unable to govern his village,
 622 the family council can depose him and put another man in his
 596 place. This council will be formed of old relatives, especially
 the paternal uncles to whom the younger brothers will go and
 complain of the misbehaviour of their headman. A younger
 brother will then be proclaimed and the elder will be despised.
 They will say: "Hi singe! A fahla muti, a hluli hi muti!" "He
 is a fool! He breaks the village; he is overcome by the village,"
 viz., not able to keep up his position.

As regards the law of succession to the headmanship, the second
 brother takes the place of the elder, and so on. The son of the
 elder cannot become headman until all his paternal uncles are
 dead. We shall find this principle also observed in the succession
 of the chiefs. (Part III.)

D. DAILY LIFE IN THE VILLAGE.

461 From the oxen kraal to the huts, from the square to the little
 wood, through the doors and in the reed yards, black forms are
 moving to and fro. Everybody seems busy. There is talking,
 laughing, playing and working. The expression "working like
 a nigger" is hardly applicable, for they do not kill themselves
 with work. It would, however, be quite as great a mistake to
 believe that the Natives spend all their time in loafing about.
 Far from it!

I. Women's occupations.

462 Women, especially, are very busy. When the sun rises, they
 511 emerge from their huts, wash their faces, and light a little fire
 to warm the mealie pap which was left from the evening meal.

825 that the road is not "clean" (Viguet). The flesh of this bird is
 777 used in the preparation of the charms carried by travellers. There
 484 are also two mammals which give the same warning: the duyker
 782 antelope (mhunti) and the polecat (mangobo). Should a boy
 going to Johannesburg meet with any of these three animals,
 he will go to his kokwana (grandfather) and ask him for help; the
 old man will then take a mouthful of beer or water and project it
 towards the traveller (to make "phaa") with the following prayer
 addressed to the ancestor-gods: "You, so and so, look to this
 child who wants to travel! Bless him in his journey! May the
 Spirit of the bush (Shikwembo sha nhoba) remain asleep."

517 The discussion of affairs (ku khanela timhaka) on the square of
 461 the village also fills many an hour in a man's life.

On the whole, men have but little to do. We can fairly
 estimate at three months the time required for the work which
 they have to do for the village and for the community. The
 remaining months are devoted to pastimes and pleasure (1).

III. Games of adults.

000 Having already described boys' and girls' games (p. 66 and
 172), I now proceed to those of the adults, as forming an important
 part of the Life of the Village.

462 (1) Much has been said and written about the division of village work between
 men and women in the Bantu kraal. I shall try to show in the Practical Conclusions,
 No. V that civilisation is bound to produce great changes in this region. But, as
 already pointed out, it is certain that to the Natives themselves their system appears
 perfectly natural and that the women do not at all complain of their fate. The following
 charming story which is told by a Moravian missionary, The Rev. Th. Bachmann,
 who lived for a long time amongst the Wa-Nika, between Lake Tanganyika and Nyassa
 gives fresh proof of this assertion:

000 One day, as the rain was pouring down, I saw Walusangano returning from his garden
 with his wife, Leya. The wife was walking in front with a big bundle of wood on
 her head. On the wood was a basket containing maize, cucumbers and beans, as well
 as the hoe. On her back Leya was carrying her youngest child. The other children
 followed and the father brought up the rear-guard, carrying only an open umbrella.
 We were greatly shocked at this sight, and I thought it my duty to intervene on behalf
 of the women. On Sunday night, at public worship, I spoke of what I had seen in
 the most expressive terms possible. But my speech did not make the impression I
 expected. The men looked very much embarrassed; the women indignant.

The following week, at sunset, I was under my veranda, watching the lightning and

524 but one stone, a poor *tshonga*, he says: "I have only caught women!"

524 Fighting and hunting are great sports for Natives; hence the popularity of the *tshuba* game. It has become such a passion with the men that they neglect all their duties to indulge in it, and it has been necessary, in certain Christian villages, to prohibit the *tshuba* altogether, as the whole male population was abandoning its work for the game!

461 The evening games are happily not so dangerous for the moral well-being of the village. Women who have worked the whole day now have their innings. This is the *tha* par excellence, the most refined amusement, the story telling. It takes place at eventide. It is taboo to *tha* in the middle of the day. Those who should transgress the law would become bald (!), and persons affected with loss of hair are commonly and jocosely accused of having told tales at midday. So, when the moon shines, when all the work of the day is ended, all the inhabitants assemble at one of the firesides to amuse themselves. They rarely gather together on the *hubo* for that purpose, as the square is reserved

524 for the discussion of matters of importance or for dances. The diversions at first consist of a parlour game, which is also known amongst Europeans, *guessing the charcoal piece* (*mhumhana*). Two sides are formed opposite each other, women on one side, men on the other. One of the women, holding a piece of charcoal, puts it into the hands of one of the other partners, saying: "Dana, u shura nwanaaaa'nga," (eat and be satisfied, my child). Then both present their closed hands to the other side saying: "Mhumha!" The man opposite must guess in which hand the charcoal is hidden. He flips one of the four hands with his finger saying; "Give me! Here it is!" If he has guessed rightly, he has won, and then proceeds in his turn to hide the charcoal in the hand of one of his own side. When they have had enough of this game and wish to finish it in the proper manner, they pull their fingers and make them crack (*ku ba tindjipati*). Each of them pulls a finger in turn. The first who is unable to produce a sound is expelled from his side. Then those who have been beaten make faces, as ugly or funny as they can, at their victors; these must

177
291 as with their clothing! How often we have longed to see them adopt some peculiar costume appropriate to the climate and to their occupations! But when they cast off their belt of tails, it is to put on long trousers, and they all dream of a complete khakhi or serge suit! So they will build square houses, and this certainly has its advantages; the dwelling can be divided into many rooms and the different members of the family can all live under the same roof, which, from an educational point of view, is a good thing.

264
177
591
361 The communism of food is also a splendid feature and calculated to fill the most sanguine socialistic dreamer with joy! But this custom has been severely criticised from a hygienic point of view. The habit of all plunging their fingers into the same plate fosters tuberculosis and other contagious diseases; but I do not think it is for this reason that the custom will die out. In the modern Native settlement many different families live together. They are not united by any ties of blood. Moreover they are sometimes so numerous that such communism would be practically impossible. The golden age has passed for ever!

177
461 With it has also passed away the merry lazy life of the half naked *munumzane*. The coming of civilisation has already deeply changed his mode of living, and the transformation will accentuate itself still further. I have heard Colonists cursing these black people, who believe that they can escape the law of work under which Europeans groan: "these niggers who think that they will be allowed to remain incorrigibly lazy fellows for all time!" I do not share this loudly expressed indignation. First the Native *doda* is by no means an idle man. He has his own occupations for the benefit of the kraal. Secondly, if his wants are few, and if he very soon reaches the happy state of a man who is not obliged to work, I see thousands of Europeans enjoying the life of a "rentier" as much as he does, and without any qualms of conscience. A South African trader who works hard to make his fortune, and hopes to leave the country as quickly as possible, in order to enjoy all the comforts of a European town, theatres, concerts and clubs, has not, after all, a much loftier ideal than the Native he curses... On the other hand, circumstances themselves enforce upon the Native that law of work and teach him that "dignity of labour" of which we so often hear. A civilised Native has increased his wants ten-fold. He requires the wherewithal to satisfy them. This is the only legitimate, the most powerful incentive to work. Fifty, sixty thousand Thongas, the elite of our tribe, are constantly streaming to Johannesburg, where they are considered the best mining boys. Many of them go there to earn

177 lobola money. But they learn to spend money on other things, and
461 those who are converts to Christianity become regular purchasers of
631 clothing, of better food, of books. The high taxation to which they are
subjected also forces them to work. As long as this does not exceed a
reasonable limit, and as long as the State causes the Native community
to benefit by the high taxes levied on it, it is justifiable although this
way of enforcing labour is not so normally healthy as the creation of
241 new wants (1). Another powerful influence which tends to make men
177 work more and to relieve women from the toil of tilling the fields, is
412 this. Wishing to make money by selling grain, the Natives are begin-
462 ning to clear larger fields than before, and we note with pleasure that they
have adopted the use of the plough instead of the hoe in a great many
quarters. The consequence of this change is that the men now do

466 (1) Another means has been used to obtain the same result, i. e. compulsory labour
P. (in Thonga *shibalu*). It is not at all my intention to treat this important but delicate
177 subject here. The League of Nations created in 1924 a special Slavery Commission
46 which has very ably and fully discussed the whole subject. These discussions have
resulted in a Convention which was adopted by the Assembly of 1926; art. 5, which
deals with forced labour, runs as follows:

The High Contracting Parties recognise that recourse to compulsory or forced labour may have grave consequences and undertake, each in respect of the territories placed under its sovereignty, jurisdiction, protection, suzerainty or tutelage, to take all necessary measures to prevent compulsory or forced labour from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

It is agreed that:

(1) *Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes.*

(2) *In territories in which compulsory or forced labour for other than public purposes still survives, the High Contracting Parties shall endeavour progressively and as soon as possible to put an end to the practice. So long as such forced or compulsory labour exists, this labour shall invariably be of an exceptional character, shall always receive adequate remuneration, and shall not involve the removal of the labourers from their usual place of residence.*

In all cases, the responsibility for any recourse to compulsory or forced labour shall rest with the competent central authorities of the territory concerned.

The League of Nations has thus established the general principles, and nearly thirty States have already signed the Convention; amongst these we note with pleasure Great Britain and Portugal. Now the question has been transferred to the International Labour Office, which must deal with the application of the Convention. A special Committee of experts has been elected and it is hoped that it will fix general principles for Coloured Labour, which shall be submitted to the General Labour Conference in a not distant future.

I am glad to add that the Portuguese Government has recently issued a decree (No 12,533) which has been published in the *Bollettin official de Moçambique*, November 1926, and which contains the following article (Art. 5. § unico): *Compulsory labour is only permitted when absolutely indispensable, for works of public interest and of undeniable urgency. This labour will be remunerated according to circumstances.*

533 Rolling it with vigour, the boy imitated the noise of the gurgling all the while, apparently with great pleasure. Natives are very [461] fond of singing and shouting when at work; they evidently find help in the conjunction of music and labour.

[539] Many Thonga songs belong to this category. There are songs sung by women when pounding their mealies (I. p. 334), or when carrying their jars of beer or of bukanye to the capital. One of these *psirwalo* songs, extolling Mzila, the hawk that is in heaven, has been quoted I. p. 402. I heard it in February 1893, when an extraordinary inundation had filled all the little ponds in the hollows, and the lake of Rikatla had swollen to ten times its usual size. Beginning with the word: "Chwe! Chwe!" a descriptive adverb which renders the impression caused by a wide surface of water shining in the sun, the women sang:

Chwe! Nambyana wu tele!
The lake has overflowed!
We seek the hawk who soars in the sky!
Who is the hawk? It is Mzila!

For the music of the song see tune 17.

On the wharf at Lourenço Marques, one could collect a good number of the carrier songs, sung by the boys who carry loads from the ships to the Custom House. Some are highly impressive, full of guttural sounds such as: Ama-haussa-haussa! There is generally a soloist who intones (*sima*) and all the boys, covered with dust, clad in sacks, their eyes beaming, seize the heavy piece of iron, the bulky case, raise it rhythmically to their shoulders, and carry it with measured tread to the shed. To have a clever soloist who keeps good time is essential, and I was told that such artists are well paid.

I would remind the reader of the *travellers' songs*, an example of which has been given when speaking of the journeys of the traders in the interior (p. 144).

But the richest collection is that of *sailors' songs*. I heard one of these, (tune 18), on the Nkomati, repeated a hundred times in a monotonous fashion by a boy who was pushing the boat along the shore with his pole, from Morakwen to Lourenço Marques:

"I siloyi, I ndandale," he said — (these words have no more

meaning than tra-la-la) "They are starving at Ntimane, siloyi..." 533
 He was journeying from the Ntimane country, near Khosen, and having heard that the crops had failed, went muttering this great news all down the river! Perhaps the song was not of his own composition, but was an old refrain which had been preserved on account of its catching tune.

Mrs Audéoud, during her long journeys on the Maputju river, noted down many of the tunes, Nos. 19-22, some in two or even three parts, curiously harmonised. The Native sailors seek in this way to vary the monotony of rowing, punting or towing the boat. No doubt a great many more such tunes could be collected. [461]

VII. Incantations.

Children, as we saw, (l. p. 68), are fond of singing curious little melodies to various animals: to the big *galagala* lizard, to the *chameleon*, to the *crab* with one claw, to the *owl*. The tune of the words addressed to the owl is No. 36.² The boys of Rikatla used to salute our ox-waggon, when it appeared on the plain, with song No. 35.¹ "Gweymanão! — here are the oxen", they said running all round the span, the girls following them and lifting up the babies in their arms, to show them the strange machine and the long-horned oxen walking slowly, with impassive looks, through the little black throng.

Incantations of a more serious type are the *songs of exorcism*, 533 performed to the accompaniment of rattles, big tins and drums, 789 close to the ears of the person supposed to be possessed, in order to induce the spirit to reveal its name and to "come out". No. 37¹ is one of the most celebrated songs of this category, and has really a great deal of character. I shall speak of it again when dealing with possession.

VIII. Songs accompanying tales and games.

As we shall see, little songs are very frequently introduced 533 into the tales to embellish them, and are generally repeated 538 three or four times over, as if the narrator wished to exhaust

¹ [Sivata: read 31 for 36; read 30 for 35; read 32 for 37.--Analyst]

who are beaten in the contest having to pay a forfeit which they 538
redeem by telling a tale. So the tale is the conclusion of the 517
game, the object of the whole entertainment. I have often
seen exactly the same order followed in a European company
playing parlour games.

This interesting scene may be witnessed from one end of the
tribe to the other: "This is their evening prayer" said one of
our converts to me, a woman who was also a clever story-teller,
i. e. as we Christians have our worship every night before going
to sleep, so the heathen gladden their hearts by their tales. Every-
where story-telling (ku tha psihitana) is considered the most
refined and most pleasing of the games. The tales are called
shihetana or *nsingo* (mu-mi) in Ronga, *ntyeketo* (mu-mi) or
nkaringana (mu-mi) in the Northern clans.

Story-tellers are of all ages and of both sexes. I have heard 538
little girls of ten amusing their play-mates with tales. Those I
have collected were told by young girls of eighteen (Nkulunkulu
and Nwanawatilo), young men of twenty, (Khwezu, Maganyeke,
Simeon Makwakwa), and men of thirty and forty (Spoon, Jim
Tandane); but the majority come from adult women, the most
skillful being Shigiyane-Camilla, Sofia Midomingo, Martha and
Lois. Some only know one tale, and repeat it on every occasion,
like Jim Tandane, who used to narrate the story of an ogre,
Nwatlakulalambimbi, with such gusto that he was surnamed after
his hero! But others can recite six, ten or twenty tales.
Shigiyane, for instance, could entertain the company for many
nights with her tales, some of which were very long. (See for
instance "The little hated one," 24 pages, "Mubia, an ogre tale,"
19 pages, in my *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*). This woman's
memory was wonderful, and the graceful manner in which she
told her stories was no less astonishing. Nkulukulu had heard
her tale ("The girl and the whale") only once in the Maputju
country, and she had memorised it immediately with the little
songs which enliven it.

Strange to say, there is a curious precaution to be observed in 538
connection with story-telling: it is taboo to devote oneself to 461 ●
this occupation at noon; it must remain an evening entertainment; 826
if this rule is not followed, the Transgressor will become bald!

538 if this rule is not followed, the transgressor will become bald!

461 This is one of the most surprising of the lesser taboos of the tribe.

What is its origin? Have the Natives noticed that famous story-tellers, those who practised their art day and night, were liable to this misfortune? I could get no information on this point. I rather think the prohibition comes from the fact that this game is so popular that they are afraid to devote too much time to

it: people would lose all inclination for work, if they started it during the day. So they instinctively forbade story-telling in the day-time!

Another curious custom in connection with tales is this: when a story-teller comes to the end of his tale, he concludes with the following words:

"Tju-tju... famba ka Gwambe ni Dzabana!" — "Run



Phot.
A. Borel.

Martha, a Ronga story-teller.

away, go to Gwambe and Dzabana." These two personages are believed, at least amongst the Northern clans, to have been the first man and the first woman (see Part VI), and I suppose that the object of this kind of incantation is to prevent the marvellous story haunting the hearers during the night, and troubling their sleep by disagreeable dreams. It is a means of returning from fairyland to the realms of every-day life! All these details tend to show the importance of folk-tales in the Native life, and their popularity amongst the tribe.